1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

ingly. Each man took only one horse, rode it to the salt beds, loaded it, and walked home. Each pilgrim must keep his horse fresh for the trip. If he had none, he might borrow, and no one would dare refuse. The compensation to the horse's owner was half a load of salt, or one saddlebagfull. The saddlebags taken were the ancient netted receptacles of maguey fiber. Inside these the salt was wrapped in handwoven cotton sheets or, in old days, fiber mats. Each pilgrim must make ropes of hair or of maguey fiber, for a bridle and for hobbling his horse. He wore, in the old days, only breech cloth and sandals. At his waist he carried two canteens, made of gourds, covered with rabbit skin, and slung in a grass net. He also carried a pouch of parched corn meal and the small watertight basket which was his only utensil for eating and drinking. Beside the corn meal, "ripe men" might carry as much dried squash, tortillas, or any other food as they could manage.

For all equipment there was a special vocabulary, analogous to that used on the warpath. The horse was called the partner; the gourd, the jar; the basket, the dish; pinole, gruel; hay, weeds; salt, corn. For other common terms there were words showing a similar slight variation. These words the neophyte must learn and not misuse, under pain of accident on the journey.

Each village took prayer sticks in some form, to be offered to the ocean. The following list will show the variety introduced under the general heading prayer-stick offering:

Komarik: prayer sticks with two turkey or eagle feathers. Left at each camping place, and one thrown by each man into the sea.

Pisinimo: eagle down; no sticks. Each man brings his own down and throws it into the sea.

Anegam and Santa Rosa: peeled white sticks of western willow; no feathers. Carried by leader. One placed at every camp, and one given each man to throw in the sea.

Akchin: sticks with turkey or eagle feathers carried by leader, placed at each camp along the way and given men to carry into the sea and to bring back again. One large stick, with streamer of red cloth, planted on the beach.

San Miguel: strips of red cloth thrown into ocean.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

All the villages took sacred corn meal as an offering. It must be made from flat-headed corn (two ears growing together, so that each had one flat side). Each man brought his own in a small pouch of rabbit skin carried at the waist.

During the period of preparation a meeting was held every night, at which the leader received reports of progress. When the last day arrived the leader asked: "Are you ready? Is everything new?" Next morning, when the dawn star rose, they started.

THE JOURNEY

There were two accessible salt deposits, reached by different routes. One route led straight south, through Quijotoa and Sharp Mountain, requiring only two days and a half. However, this meant forced marches, when the men had sometimes to travel half the night in order to reach the one camp which had water. The village of Akchin, which followed this route, took the minimum time for ceremonials and recited no long speeches. The other route led west to Ajo Mountain and then south, past the present Pinacate. This took four days; Santa Rosa and Anegam, which followed it, had long rituals for each of the watering places.

They rode single file, with the leader ahead "like a quail with her young." All the contingencies of the journey were dealt with by forms of sympathetic magic. They must never step off the trail, for that might "ruin somebody's [some animal's] house," and the animal would become their enemy. They must never think of home and their women, for this would delay their progress. For the same reason, they must always sleep with their heads to the ocean that it might "draw them on." They must never spill a drop of the precious water from their canteens, or they would be punished by a flood. This happened to one informant. As a result, the party had to ride in a cloudburst, and they found the salt beds so flooded that they could scarcely excavate any salt.(4)

They observed the usual ceremonial restriction of speaking slowly and in a low voice, and Santa Rosa men were not allowed to speak at all.(4) For the neophytes there were other rules. They must obey every direction instantly and must never walk, but al-

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

someone was hungry while there was food in the village, he had only to sit outside a house where people were eating. It was bad manners to ask for food but equally bad to fail to offer it. One informant objected to having any house too near her own because "they will see us eat and we will have to send them something." If the hungry person owed his trouble to laziness or a stupid wife, he would be talked about and shamed into reform.

Occasionally, disaster overtook a whole family through illness or enemy raids and then it was the responsibility of the village to take care of the sufferers, the most generous man getting the most credit. It is safe to say that no one ever went hungry while there was food in the village for farmers, food gatherers and hunters would all share with him. No definite return was expected except general respect and good will but "if a person got the name of being stingy, he always had a hard time. Even his relatives didn't help him more then they had to" (26).

Papago gift basket.
Quantities are measured by the lines parallel to the basket rim.

In the constant interchange of gifts, certain equivalents had been worked out. The usual container was a basket bowl with a black pattern involving many lines parallel to the rim. A person receiving such a basket would note to what line the corn or beans reached and then fill it to the same point for the return gift. To fill it even higher was an act of virtue but to fill it short of the line was to commit social suicide. The bowls were made in two or three standard sizes so that almost any bowl formed a rough measure. The women's carrying nets were also about the same size with patterns which served for markers. One carrying net was equal to two ordinary basket bowls. There was a rough understanding as to the number of squash or jars of cactus syrup which equaled these measures for corn and beans.

TRADE

Such measures were always kept in mind in the exchange with non-relatives. It was not trade in the full sense, for there was no

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

dark but there are white lines in the east. Those are the white hairs of Elder Brother who made us. He put them there so we can know when day is coming and we can go out to look for food.

We crawled out the little door. I remember that door so well. I always crawled out of doors till long after I was a married woman and we stopped being afraid of enemies. Then we made houses with white men's doors. But this one was little and when we came out we could see the houses of my relatives nearby among the cactus, and the girls coming out of them, too, to get water.

Those girls had nothing on above the waist. We did not wear clothes then. They had strips of hand woven cloth in front and behind, tied around their waists with a string, for we did not know how to sew them together. Only deerskins the men knew how to sew, but our people had traded this cloth from Mexico and we thought we were very fine. And with good red paint above the waist, it *was* fine. And warm too. But the girls did not put on their paint in the early cold morning. Then they had to work.

There was no water at Mesquite Root; no water at all except what fell from the clouds, and I am telling about the month of Pleasant Cold when the rains were long over. Then our pond had dried up. If we wanted to stay in our houses, the girls had to run for water far, far up the hills and across the flat land to a place called Where the Water Whirls Around. That was a low flat place, a good place for corn, and the water ran down to it from all the hills. A big water hole was there full of red mud. Oh yes, our water was always red. It made the corn gruel red. I liked that earth taste in my food. Yes, I liked it.

The girls used to crawl laughing out of the houses, with their long black hair hanging to their waists, and they would pick up their carrying nets. Fine nets we used to have in those days, all dyed with red and blue. Shaped like a cone they were, with tall red sticks to keep them in shape. When the net was on a girl's back those red sticks would stand up on either side of her face. We used to think a pretty young girl looked best that way. That was how the men liked to see her.

I was too little to have a net than, or even clothes. But I used to help my cousins put the jars in their nets and to put little sticks between them so they would not break. The boys would stand laughing around and if there was one who was not a relative the girls would joke with him. They would throw gravel at him and run away, and once a girl said to one of my cousins: "Give me that male thing you have and I will put it between my water jars instead of a stick." So we called that man Between-the-Jars. Yes, that is how we joked in the old days.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

Then the girls put the nets on their backs and if one was married and had a baby, she put that on top in its cradle board. Some men went with them with their war arrows because there were Apaches in the land then. They all went running, running. If they saw dust in the distance that they thought was Apaches, they went dodging behind the giant cactus. You see, women had to run in those days. That was what saved their lives. Many hours they had to run, and when they came back every family had two little jars of water to last for the day. But we did not mind. We knew how to use water. We have a word that means thirst-enduring and that is what we were taught to be. Why, our men, when they went off hunting, never drank at all. They thought it was womanish to carry water with them.

My brothers went running off, too. Ah, how we could run, we Desert People; all the morning until the sun was high, without once stopping! My brothers took their bows and arrows and went far off over the flat land.

"Run," my father said to them. "Run until you are exhausted. So you will be a strong man. If you fall down tired, far out in the waste land, perhaps a vision will come to you. Perhaps a hawk will visit you and teach you to be swift. Perhaps you will get a piece of the rainbow to carry on your shoulder so that no one can get near to you, any more than to the rainbow itself. Or maybe Coyote himself will sing you a song that has magic in it."

So they went off in their breechclouts and bare feet, running in the dark when they could hardly see the cactus joints on the ground and the horned toads—rattlesnakes there were not in that cool weather. One of my brothers did really have visions. The others used to come back without him, bringing jackrabbits for our dinner. The little boy would come in much later and never tell where he had been. But we found out, long, long after, when he became a medicine man, that he had been lying dead out on the desert all those hours and that Coyote had come and talked to him.

When they were gone my mother would come crawling out. She went to the little enclosure beside our house, made of greasewood bushes piled up in a circle and she got the pot of gruel. We always kept gruel in our house. It was in a big clay pot that my mother had made. She ground up seeds into flour. Not wheat flour—we had no wheat. But all the wild seeds, the good pigweed and the wild grasses. And corn, too! Some summers we could grow corn. All those things my mother kept in beautiful jars in our storehouse. Every day she ground some more and added fresh flour to the gruel and some boiling water. That pot stood always ready so that whoever came in from running could have some. Oh, good that gruel was! I have

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

diameter which did not flood in time of heavy rain and where the soil would cake. All weeds were removed and the ground flooded, or at least moistened, and allowed to dry out until hard enough to support the weight of a man without making depressions in the soil. It was then tamped by foot, or, in later days, with poles four feet high and about four inches thick at the base, or blocks of wood each bearing a handle. A stout pole ten to fifteen feet tall was erected in the center of the prepared area. Among the Papago the threshing floor belonged to the patriarchal family in common.

When wheat was first grown, in early Spanish days, the plants were pulled out by the roots in harvesting; later they were cut off just above the ground with a knife made of ironwood, or with a sickle. This was ordinarily done by both men and women.

Formerly wheat was not sowed as thickly as at present. While this held for the days when it was planted in hills and later in rows, it also applied to broadcast sowing, hence the crop was not as large per given area as at present. There was no selection of seed wheat. Grain to be planted was simply taken out of the general supply used for food.

Threshing

Regardless of how wheat was harvested, it was placed in small piles to be gathered up, usually by women, and carried —formerly in burden baskets, later in a cotton cloth or on their heads—to the threshing floor. At present these piles are gathered and hauled by wagon. Formerly there was no central pole and the wheat was placed on the floor in small piles, allowed to dry several days; then women trampled the grain by foot or threshed it with ocotillo poles, about five feet long and one and one-half inches thick, first beating each pile, then removing the coarser straw, and flailing again. More recently, the wheat has been piled on the threshing floor and leveled. Then three or four horses were tied abreast, with the inside animal tied to the pole by a long rope. A

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

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●92

a. Burden basket

415
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b. Basket bowl in which stew is served

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

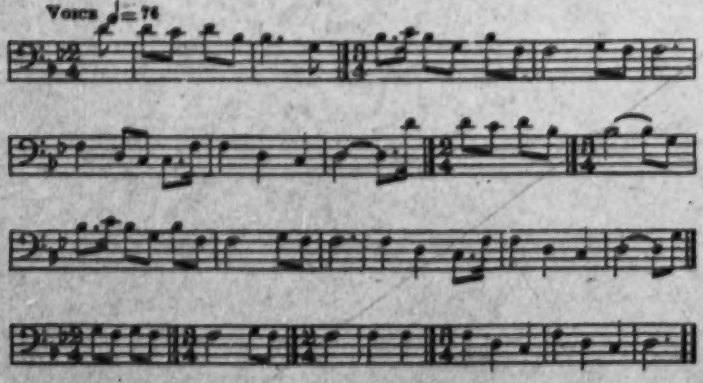
The burden basket (kiño), which forms the subject of the next song, is a peculiar contrivance by which the women of Piman tribes were enabled to carry loads of mesquite wood and other material weighing, in some instances, about 100 pounds. It consisted of a conical netting stretched on a hoop, with four sticks, two of which were about 2 feet long. A separate long stick, called a "helping stick," formed a tripod, thus making it possible for a woman to load the basket before assuming the burden.[48] The position of the basket on the ground probably suggested the idea that it was "walking." The specimen illustrated (pl. 10, *a*) was obtained at Santa Rosa. The headband is missing but a portion of its cord remains. According to Mason, the "buttonhole or half-hitch stitch" of this netting does not appear in tribes north of the Piman but "occurs in Central America, in Latin South America as far south as Tierra del Fuego, where it will be found to be the only attempt at textiles."[49]

The people rose up again and went toward the south. As soon as they went out from the place where they had camped the burden basket walked behind them. Coyote came and saw the burden basket walking. He spoke to it and said, "You certainly are walking," and immediately it stopped.

Elder Brother said to the old woman, "Now I am going to give you strength so that you can carry the burden basket and never be tired." So he sang this song.

No. 17. Song That Gave Woman the Strength to Carry the Burden Basket
(Catalogue No. 999)

Recorded by JOSE MANUEL



TRANSLATION

Going toward the east where the road goes;
Where the burden basket walked.

[48] Mason, Otis T., Origins of Invention, London, 1895, p. 281.

[49] Mason, Otis T., Primitive Travel and Transportation, U. S. Nat. Mus. Rept. for 1894, p. 675, Washington, 1896.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

good condition; the young men were not particularly accommodating, as their interest seemed to be centred in the corral, where they were breaking in horses, separating cattle, etc. These natives had little to sell me beyond a fine basket used for harvesting sahuaro fruit. This kind of basket, which now is becoming rare, is of large size, water-tight, and is carried on the head. Its decorative designs sometimes represent the sahuaro cactus.

I visited Santiago, an old hunter, who, according to reports, used to be able to overtake deer, on the run, in half a day, and then shoot them with bow and arrow. In the hot weather these animals are not inclined to run long, as their feet become sore. Santiago is still very agile and quick in his movements and every day he goes out shooting quail, cotton-tails, jack-rabbits, and pigeons. His bow, which I secured, is made from that beautiful greenish blue bush of the desert called *condalia*. It is strengthened by an ox-tail hide pulled over it. The bow string is made from the ligaments of the back of the neck of the same animal. Arrows are made from the *amole* (yucca) flower stalk, the point being of cat-claw, tied by deer sinew.

He was also willing to be photographed. He had been to Tucson and there had gone through the experience of the camera, so he had no objection but would expect some gratuity. I took three or four snapshots with my kodak, and he asked fifty cents, which I gave him, but he demanded fifty cents for each exposure, in which I could hardly humor him. The Papagoes all have a great disinclination to being photographed, and

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

285 The lady of the house had in active use two of those
● 482 peculiar burden baskets called *kíbo*, in which the women carry on their backs loads of wood, gourds, or pottery, as the case may be. It consists of an attractive looking net-work of mescal fibre, which has been produced from the leaves after they have been first boiled. The net is attached to a hoop which is fastened between four long poles of sahuaro ribs and is supported by a woven band of strips of zotol leaves that passes over the forehead. This contrivance is getting to be rare in the Papago country, with the introduction of mules and horses, and the woman who owns one is with difficulty induced to sell it. She spends considerable time in its manufacture, and in an old-fashioned family like the present it is of very great usefulness in every-day life. The black twine was from her children's hair, which she cut once a year until they were about twelve years old. I expressed an ardent desire to buy one that was standing outside of the house against the wall, and, after having thought the matter over for a couple of hours, she decided to sell the most used one for five dollars, though she hated to do so; for an additional fifty cents she would mend the net-work and put in a new plaited band for the back and the head. The offer was promptly accepted.

[492]

302

Pablo and I made a tour of the houses of the ran-
361 cheria, some of them being three-quarters of a mile away.
124 In two of them we found only old deaf women at home,
[887] the rest of the families being at the harvest of the savory cactus fruit. On our return, toward sunset, our Indian
573 friend and little Marianita were busily engaged in wash-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

After a while she ½ appeared at a
482 distance with a big tin bucket on her head, but how much
512 more beautiful my small Rebecca would have looked carrying an earthen-ware jar of native workmanship. There are lots of pottery vessels still manufactured by the Papagoes, but the white man's implements are recognized to be more practical. I suppose the change is unavoidable, but the bucket was distinctly disappointing to my photographic sense. Before she approached my vantage point, an Indian met her who evidently asked for a drink, for he lifted the heavy bucket down, drank, and put it on her head again. When I gave her some candy after the short and unexpected ordeal, she looked frightened. She stepped along quickly, showing somewhat that she felt the weight that she had been carrying for fifteen minutes. This was six o'clock in the morning and, on rising, she had first helped her mother milk the cows.

Half an hour afterward she again passed my camp; this time she was bound for the sahuaro fields along the base of the mountains. The girl of thirteen years walked fast, carrying over one shoulder the long stick with which the fruit is brought down. Two hours later she returned with a small bucket full of the juicy fruit, on which a newly arrived guest and the rest of the family gorged themselves, while she sat near by resting. She did not look tired, however, and I saw her later helping
[77] her mother make wheat biscuits, baking them in an oven adopted from the Mexicans.

124 It was a great pleasure to be with these natural people.
533 I sang to them my newly acquired Papago song, "The
774 ½ [i.e., Mariauita, a young Papago girl. -Analyst]

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909–1910) 1912
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Frog Doctor," one that is used at the sahuaro festival, and ingratiated myself in their favor. The mother, always busy in doing something about the house, was engagingly free and easy in her manner. I ventured to ask if I might not photograph her; she looked disturbed, but after a while consented if I would promise not to show her picture in Tucson. She had the burden basket on her head, appropriately enough for a woman of energy and activity, but her whole being had suddenly changed, and it was impossible to make her walk and look natural. Her face was flushed, she looked embarrassed, and made a poor picture.

In spite of presents to the children, they all steadfastly declined to be photographed. However, sitting down to catalogue my lately acquired ethnological objects in the shade of a jacal, I found opportunities for snapshots while pretending to write. When Pablo took the horses and my dog to the well, I hugely enjoyed a rub down from my wash basin, as well as a change of clothing, and soon we were off again on the road.

At this rancheria I had a curious experience in the morning with a horned lizard (*phrynosoma*), rather dark in color, which my terrier pursued for eight or ten yards, when it flattened itself out and refused to run any more. The dog was watching for it to move and I stepped up. When put on its back it would immediately turn over; stooping down, I tried in vain to tease it to run again, but it remained immobile. I was just about to rise and leave when, to my great surprise, a spray of what appeared to be blood was dashed on my right hand, which was

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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me from finishing the operation by telling him to ask eight additional dollars for his consent.

Their camp consisted simply of a roof of branches resting on four poles, sufficient to provide some shade during the day. Early in the morning all the female members of the household could be seen proceeding on their fruit-gathering expedition, each armed with a large basket and the usual pole, about twenty feet long and made from two pieces of sahuaro rib. At the top of the pole, as well as lower down, there is a kind of hook made by tying crosswise in these two places a small piece of greasewood by the aid of which the spiny fruit is broken off. Two or three hours later they returned, each carrying on her head her share of a heavy harvest. The skin with its spines had been removed in the field, so the inside of the huge water-tight basket presented an appetizing mass of crimson fruit pulp, as well as a great amount of similarly colored juice, which would keep for a few hours only. Most of the contents of the baskets was immediately emptied into large jars, to be boiled for about two hours, when the mass is strained in order to separate the numerous small black seeds. The juice is boiled for hours longer until it becomes sirup (*sitoli*), which is kept for future use in small earthen-ware jars, each neatly sealed with a piece of broken pottery and sticky mud. Being pleasant to the taste and much superior to molasses, I found this sirup excellent as part of my provisions. I also relished the fresh juice of the fruit when brought in cool in the morning.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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mediately succeeded by others, and when finally, after two hours, the weather calmed, the arroyo at the back of the houses was roaring as if in joy at being born a river again. Before the rain was over the children were playing in the newly made ponds. Soon the grown-ups appeared on the scene, all much animated. While Pablo and I started to dry and clean our things, they enthusiastically resumed their interrupted preparations for making the wine, which was to play such an important part in the approaching sahuaro feast. Juan had already evacuated his hut the day before in order to devote it to wine making. Early in the morning men had brought large earthen jars belonging to his and the neighboring houses, and the jars were now resting safely in cavities that had been dug in the earthen floor of the hut, twigs of fresh greasewood as usual forming their immediate support.

As soon as the rains ceased a procession of women started off to fetch the necessary water for the wine making. The cheery women, each superbly supporting a shining olla on her head, looked picturesque as they walked one after the other through the greasewood bushes in the beautiful light after the storm. Two trips had to be made and the full jars were all deposited outside of the house, to be used as soon as the clay vessels containing the sahuaro sirup were opened; of these there were a dozen medium-sized on hand, all neatly sealed.

About one o'clock in the afternoon the solemn work of mixing the sirup with water began. Two young

DESERT WILLOW IN BLOOM, JUNE

482

PAPAGO WOMAN CARRYING WATER

312

THE DAM AT SANTA ROSA. MADE BY THE PAPAGOES

[Facing p. 120]

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28
Sand Papago

which the Indians knew how to gather all the year round, 184
though after May that part of the plant which is above 222
ground withers away. They had their season of chia and used to come as far as Quitovaquita and Santo Domingo to gather mezquite beans (called by the Mexicans *pechita*) and eat sahuaro and pitahaya. Near all the tinajas are seen round holes from six to ten inches deep, made into the solid rock, in which these Indians pounded mezquite [252 412] beans. Their pestles are frequently found. The beans of the palo fierro were toasted, ground, and consumed as pinole. After the scanty winter rains the juicy plant of the sand dunes, *œnothera trichocalyx*, was boiled and eaten.

The clothing of these people was made from the skin 184
of mule-deer, antelope, or mountain-sheep. The hair was 281
first removed with a bone taken from the lower foreleg of the animal, and the skin was smeared with the brains. The root of the torote tree, crushed and left in water, furnished necessary material for the tanning process. The [291] man wore shirt and breech cloth, the woman a short skirt. They killed sea lions on the rocks by hitting them on the nose, and from their skins sandals and straps were cut. From the badger's hair they were able to plait [301] ribbons for the hair and make twine to be used for the [331] breech cloth. Women wore sandals, but no hair ribbons. The skirt was kept up by strings of buckskin.

The burden basket was not used, but they made carry- 184 285
ing nets as well as pottery, material for which is abundant 482
on the coast. Baskets were manufactured from torote, willow, and bulrushes. In order to make bows, these 184
Indians travelled as far as the Colorado River to get 411

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

CHAPTER XXII

PHYSICAL AND MENTAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PAPAGO—EFFECTS OF CONTACT WITH WHITE MAN—MARITAL RELATIONS—WOMAN'S HIGH POSITION—INDUSTRIES—DIVISIONS OF THE TRIBE—RELIGION AND MYTHS—RACES AND GAMES—FIGHTS WITH APACHES—SHAM BATTLES—PRESENT CONDITIONS AND PROSPECTS OF THE PAPAGO

147 To the characteristics of the Papago which have already been given, I shall add here some observations and notes which may help to complete the picture of his present status as well as of his past.

These Indians are naturally very healthy and many grow to be a hundred years old or more. A few years [482] ago a woman who went out to gather pitahaya returned with the basket on her head full of fruit and a newborn babe in her arms. The total weight probably was not less than forty or fifty pounds. The heaviest baskets, when loaded with the juicy cactus fruits, may weigh as much as a hundred pounds. A native Indian is less affected by inflammatory processes than a white person; wounds heal by first intention. The following case, although referring to a Pima Indian, may properly be mentioned here, as the Papago are of the Pima tribe. A woman in childbirth was unable to deliver the placenta; but she recovered in a few days, though an American doctor, who saw her, expressed the belief that she would die.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

die from it, having acquired it through contagion. Although in no way a prison as to its restrictions, nevertheless the school as at present conducted does them harm physically. The confinement to which they have not been accustomed seems to undermine their health. In these days of advanced methods of teaching some remedy for this condition no doubt will be found. One absolutely necessary change is to alter the construction of the school-houses so as to make them sanitary through unlimited access of air. Even the Presbyterian Mission, which has been of considerable benefit to the Indian, has erected outside of Tucson incredibly inappropriate buildings, made of brick and substantial, to be sure, but singularly out of place in the glare and heat of the Arizona desert. Prof. R. H. Forbes, of Arizona University, told me that in the White Mountain Apache school, at White River, ninety per cent of the children have tuberculosis, chiefly glandular. This statement was made to him by the physician in charge. Would it not be better to leave the Indians uneducated than to proceed in this manner?

Not long ago the makai (medicine-men) had as many as five wives each, while the usual number for the ordinary man was two. At present it is very rare to find a Papago with more than one wife, and the average number of children in a family is usually no less than eight, but the mortality among infants is great. The position of woman is equality with man. To be sure, the man never carries burdens—that is relegated to the woman's domain—but she is the mistress of the house. She is,

11: Hoover U-4, 5 (ca. 1930) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

coyotes, and decayed vegetables.[14] Settled again from Tecolote, Poso Verde, situated in a semicircle of foot hills, is now one of the most pleasing of all the Papago villages.

The "trincheras" or walled fortifications on the isolated mesa four miles east of San Miguel were built by the Papago as a retreat in case of Apache raids. They are in this respect distinct from the prehistoric trincheras on the mount just south of Sells, near Poso Verde, and through the Altar Valley, described by Sauer and Brand.[15]

The most important factor in making new and smaller settlements desirable has been the introduction of cattle, dating from the journeys of Father Estubio Kino, 1691–1702, followed by those of Father Garcés, 1768–1775. Along with Christianity, Father Kino introduced cattle, horses, and chickens. Cattle did not become important with the Papago, however, until the latter part of the nineteenth century, and the extensive areas between their limited fields were of little use to them except as game preserves. By hunting and gathering in these areas, they supplemented the produce of their fields, but no inducement was offered to permanent settlement of these areas. In 1849–1850 John Audobon described the Papago as fast passing away, judging from the dilapidation of the towns and the number of empty houses.

> The people live on turtles and what game they can get. I have seen small elk and antelope skins dressed and terrapin shells are everywhere. We have bought two terrapins fresh killed, some roots, and the fruit of a plant called the manguey.
>
> Why it is that these Indians settle in such a country, I cannot conceive, for even the lizards, in most places innumerable, are scarce here. The Indians kill them with a light wand, giving them a dextrous tap on the head. They pick up the game, slip the head under a belt or string round their waists, and when sufficient are collected, a little fire is made, and this delicate repast is enjoyed by them as an epicure would relish his brace of woodcock.[16]

Audobon also described a sort of mush made of grasshoppers. The insects were caught and dried, then pounded and mixed with meal or pinole, parched wheat or corn, spiced and pounded.

Pastoralism is better suited to a scattered population, so the tendency has been for the larger villages to break up into more scattered settlements. The passing of the old Tecolote village in favor of smaller communi-

[14] J. Ross Browne, Adventures in the Apache Country (New York, 1874), p. 277.

[15] Carl Sauer and Donald Brand, Prehistoric Settlements of Sonora, with Special Reference to Cerros de Trincheras (University of California Publications in Geography, Vol. 5, No. 3, 1931), espc. pp. 67–70.

[16] Audobon's Western Journal, 1849–50 (Cleveland, 1906), pp. 148–50.

PL. XIV

PARADING THE BANNER
(Photograph by Joseph Menager)

13:Davis E-5 (1920)1920 NU28 Papago NU28
[Facing p. 178]

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

and of each, just before the tone stopped, a high pitched, clear, two syllabled call was sounded by a chorister, possibly by means of a whistle, which resembled a phrase of turkey or quail conversation. 796 533

During the first o-o-o-oh, the choristers raised the objects which they carried to armslength above their heads; during the second, they lowered them again to waist level. The dancers poised themselves at the end of the tune, and violently shook their hips during each o-o-o-oh poising again at attention between the two. The chorus repeated the song several times while standing in line, then trotted around the enclosure in silence, preceded by the running dancers, and entered it, giving their objects back to the old men and receiving new ones. 796 533 535

The objects which they carried varied with each period of dancing. No order or sequence in the distribution was noticed, though the cotton covered triangles, described below, were carried at intervals. These objects were, variously, slender wands 18" long or so, painted red with white banding; similar wands with desert grasses, possibly Indian wheat, tied around them at the top; slender wands, red, with balls made of raw cotton, about 4" in diameter, formed on the upper end, and with zigzag brown lines radiating from the top center and running down the sides; isosceles triangles held upright, the downward extension of the two long sides serving as handles, and the triangles filled in solidly with raw cotton, with a zigzag brown line on the front; husked ears of corn. 796 535 293

The chorus also carried, during one period, a flat, stretcher-like framework covered with white cloth, about eight feet in length, with rounded upper end, made by lashing light cross pieces to an outside frame. This was carried upright by several choristers, and the other choristers took sahuaro fruit-gathering sticks from the sides of the enclosure where they had been placed, and supported the frame with these hooking them over the top. These poles were about twelve feet long, with a short stick crossed near the top at an angle, the whole painted red. When the period ended, these poles were stuck back vertically into the arrowweed walls of the enclosure. [482] [412]

This dance lasted possibly an hour and a half. Towards the close, the old men inside brought out bundles of the objects, wrapped in burlap or blankets, and placed them in the wagons. They also brought out several bundles of clothing belonging to the dancers and put them also in wagons. Men also brought out gourd vessels, painted white with red designs trailing from the mouths, and placed them in the wagons. Several of these were wrapped in sacking. 796 [531]

At the close of the dance, the choristers took the cloth-covered framework and arranged themselves about it as if carrying a stretcher. The dancers grouped themselves at the forward end of the chorus, carrying the sahuaro poles, and they all set out down the road to Old Santa Rosa, to the southeast a couple of miles. While the chorus and dancers [482] 796 534

17;Castetter & Underhill N,E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

neath. The whole projected above the woman's head and served as stays for loads of wood and other loose objects. The frame was so constructed that the rear portion of it could rest flat against her back, while she supported the two front poles of the frame by a plaited headband made of aloe cord. The carrying net is the only article of basketry dyed in color, the frame being spotted with red clay and the lacework rubbed with red clay and indigo to bring out the pattern.

Men carrying deer meat used a bag of knotted netting without a frame, made of two-strand aloe fiber. After the advent of the horse these were used as saddle bags. Also, two of these bags stuffed with grass formed a primitive saddle.

PLAITING

Since the Papago had little cotton or weaving they supplied the lack of fabrics partly by skins and partly by plaited articles made of sotol *(Dasylirion wheeleri)*. Sotol, too coarse and rough to be used in making clothing, was utilized to make large, tough sleeping mats which could be rolled up and carried about; also in making cradle mats, back mats for the carrying frame, headbands, headrings, and two kinds of baskets.

Sotol leaves are prepared for use by first scraping off the spiny edge with a knife, then splitting the leaves lengthwise in two with the thumbnail (the thumbnail in olden days was kept long to be used as a knife). These withes are triangular in cross-section, and the cushion of pulp on the inner margin is removed, making a flat strip of uniform thickness about an inch wide, with both a rough and a smooth side. The withes are dried in the sun for a few days, then wrapped and stored. When needed they are buried the night before in moistened ground in order to make them flexible.

The sleeping mats made of sotol, and similar to the Mexican *petate*, were about six by three feet with rounded

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

285 corners. Mats of his kind, made of cattail *(Typha latifolia)*
513 with a wicker edge are used by the Hopi.

285 Sotol back mats to be placed between the back and the carrying frame were of the same shape as the above but much smaller, and with a space left near one end for the poles to pass through. Sometimes a mat of similar shape and construction was laid on the cradle board under the pad of aloe fiber.

[442] The sotol headband for the carrying net was a ring of plaiting about three inches wide, doubled flat. The headring for balancing pots was a cylinder about six inches in diameter folded triple to give strength.

Sotol baskets were of two shapes. The trinket basket had rounding sides with a square base and cover, and might be from eight to twelve inches across. A square, shallow basket of this same weave but with spaces left between the strands was used as a sieve. The second type of basket—the *waca* ceremonial basket—was oblong, shaped like a deep box, the lid being a duplicate of the basket except slightly larger, and was tied on with a thong. Large baskets of this sort were used to hold the sacred objects belonging to a village, and were wrapped in skins for further protection and kept in a cave or a tree. Smaller baskets of this type were used by individuals to hold scalps, eagle down, curing fetishes or shaman's properties, though shamans also used buckskin bags.

COILING

All Papago women made coiled basketry, though the more difficult plaiting and netting were often left to the experts. Twigs, particularly willow *(Salix nigra)*, were considered the best foundation for coiling since they are strong and swell when wet, making the basket water-tight. Willow twigs were secured from the Pima country and had to be peeled on the day they were cut or the bark would adhere. After being peeled the twigs were split in two lengthwise with the aid of a basketry awl, dried in the sun, and then carried home.

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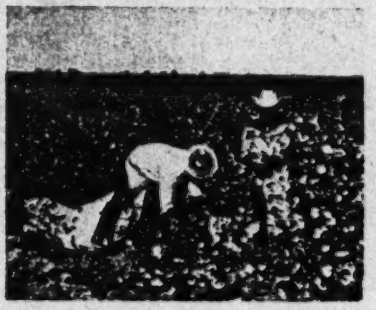
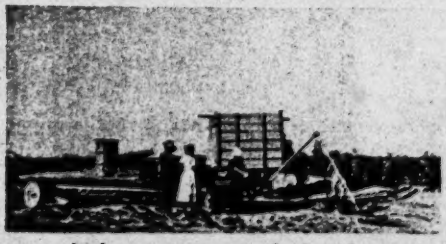
Picking is two-hand work . . .
you have to move fast . . .



and you have to stoop down low . . .



drink your water out of a barrel . . .

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and climb up high . . .

but the pay is very welcome.